



The Author giving an Account to Gentlemen of distinguished Rank, concerning what he had personally seen during his Residence at Paris.



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London () Author of a genuine
narrative of the proceedings
GENUINE NARRATIVE *in Paris*

OF THE
PROCEEDINGS AT PARIS

From the 16th of December, 1791, to the 1st
of February, 1793:

CONTAINING,

Among other interesting Anecdotes,

A PARTICULAR STATEMENT

OF THE MEMORABLE

Tenth of AUGUST and Third of SEPTEMBER,

To which is annexed

The LIFE, TRIAL, and EXECUTION, of

L O U I S X V I.

By Mr. **JOHNSON,**

Who was Eye-Witness of the Whole of the Transactions,

L O N D O N:

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A GENUINE NARRATIVE

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AT PARIS

From the 16th of *December*, 1791, to the 1st
of *February*, 1793,

WE left Dover about one o'Clock on Friday, the 16th of December, 1791. Sky serene when we left the harbour, but in less than an hour changed to a violent storm; the wind, however, was in our favour, and drove us directly for our port, but the excessive motion of the vessel made us all exceedingly sick. Unable to assist each other, we lay about the cabin in no very comfortable state; at length, to our great joy, some one on deck cried out, *à Calais! à Calais!* We crawled up, and were happy to find ourselves in the harbour. In half an hour we landed, and were surrounded by as motley a groupe as ever Hogarth drew. I thought of his song when we came to the gate: — on one side stood a cripple, on the other, his counterpart, a centinel, whose appearance might put all that passed by in mind of their latter end:

Long figure, whiskers large, and visage grim,
His firelock seem'd almost as fat as him.

We crossed the Grand Place, and entered M. Maurice's kitchen, where we found a comfortable wood-fire on the hearth, and a spacious chimney-corner, like some of ours in the farm-houses in England.

We soon procured a dish of tea, after which my wife and child retired to rest, being fatigued with the voyage. I dined to supper, which was an excellent one: in short, I cannot recommend a traveller to a better house than M. Maurice's,

Maurice's, at Calais, for good accommodation and reasonable charges. In the morning I took a walk on the ramparts, which were once probably strong, but at present much out of repair. The market, held in the Grand Place, appears plentifully supplied with provisions (and old clothes). We went to the banker's and changed what gold was sufficient to defray our expences on the road for their national paper: this was new money to me. We then hired a cabriolé of M. Grandfere, (a very obliging hotel-keeper,) and, taking post-horses, left Calais about five in the evening, in company with another cabriolé, going to Paris. We passed through Boulogne, but, it being dark, I could not make any observations on the place. We stopped at the post-house, half a league on the other side, and had a tolerable supper. We then proceeded to Montreal, a sketch of which I defer till my return, it being still dark. The next morning, about eleven, we reached

ABBEVILLE, our place of destination for breakfast. It is a large town, or rather city, the second of note in Picardy. It contains a great number of churches, convents, and monasteries, whence it derives its name, Abbeville, or the City of Abbeys. Its principal trade is in tapestry and stuffs. Many considerable merchants reside here. It was also strongly fortified, but is at present much out of repair. It presents a beautiful view, from a hill you descend in entering the town. It is very large, and has an ancient cathedral. From Abbeville we passed through a fine country and several villages to

AMIENS, the capital of Picardy. This city is large, reputed to contain 60,000 inhabitants; it has a noble cathedral, the spire of which we saw at the distance of many miles: they tell you its height is 400 feet from the ground to the top. This city was once in the possession of the English; and is famous for being the place of interview between our Henry VIII. and the then-reigning king of France, Francis. Its principal trade is the same with Abbeville. Its walls are almost surrounded by the river Somme, which turns several mills. Here is also a very ingenious machine, called the Château d'Eau, or Water-Castle, being an engine to supply the town with water, which

which is here thrown up to the height of 200 feet. The mechanist will find it worth his examination; and the traveller may have a fine view of the city and adjacent country from the balcony at the top.

At Amiens we dined, and pushed on for Clermont, intending to sleep there: but the roads being bad, and the night very dark, we were obliged to stop at Breteuil. We entered a large, but miserable, inn; we asked for our room, and were conducted along a dark gallery, which the glimmering of the candle rendered still more gloomy, till we came to a chamber, the door of which creaked on its hinges, as if they had long remained in peaceful rust, since its last inhabitants quitted it. The room reminded me of the great hall in Windsor-castle; the flooring was old oak, the cieling enormous beams of the same, a cold sweat seemed to hang upon the walls, and a cold shiver struck through me. I began to think there was some truth in enchanted castles, and that we had stumbled on one of their subterraneous apartments. However, the girl made us a fire, and provided us a tolerable supper; which, with the conversation of our companions, awhile dissipated the gloom of the place. But, when they retired, the appearance of our beds was not very inviting. On each side of the door was one, which might have served Goliath of Gath; nor would he have risked any danger of hitting his head against the top, if he had risen in a hurry; for, that was distant from the bed full fifteen perpendicular feet. In short, it seemed long since the beds had groaned beneath the weight of human frailty; however, we crept into one with all our clothes on; and, rising with the sun, pursued our journey without stopping, except to change horses, till we reached Chantilly, where we ate like Englishmen; not having broke our fast that day. After attacking and entirely demolishing a roast leg of mutton, with its out-posts, such as French beans, potatoes, &c. we departed, and in the evening arrived at

PARIS. As I cannot say much in recommendation of the inn we took up our quarters at, I will not mention the name, that I may do them no injury. We had tolerable beds, but a most miserable table; they serving scarce enough for three to satisfy one. This gave us no very encouraging

couraging specimen of French living. Here, however, we existed a week, scarcely daring to pop our heads into the street, for fear of losing our way. At length I took courage, and, having the address of a young man I knew, I took the garçon d'écurie, or stable-boy, with me to seek him; and, finding suitable apartments for us in the same house, we removed thither. I shall surprise my reader when I tell him our house contained near three hundred rooms; but there are many such at Paris; the houses being many of them seven stories high, and consisting of several ranges of building. This was one. They are also built, for the greater part, after the manner of Northumberland or Devonshire houses, great gates and high walls next the street; large courts before and gardens behind the houses. These vacancies contribute much to the health of the inhabitants, and in some measure balance the narrowness of the streets, which are exceedingly inconvenient for foot-passengers, there being no pavement as in London, so that an Englishman walks in perpetual fear of being run over. But the beautiful promenades, in and about the environs of Paris, are far beyond any we can boast. The Boulevards, which surround the city, are one continued walk for twelve miles, embellished with fine high trees at equal distances, and ornamented with the superb villas of the nobility and their beautiful gardens. If you are disposed to ride, I cannot point you out a tour more replete with agreeable variety; if to walk, the Boulevards du Temple will furnish an amusing lounge. Here you will find six or eight theatres within as many yards distance from each other; and the various species of amusement present a lively picture of the natural gaiety of the people; while the amazing crowds that are promenading here will give you an idea of the population. Many coffee-houses have their bands of musicians; so that, if you are fond of music, you may regale your ears, while you are pleasing your palate with some of their nick-nacks, with which the coffee-houses abound.

The CHAMPS ELYSEES, or ELYSIAN FIELDS, present another agreeable evening's promenade. The trees, which form a shade impenetrable to the rays of the sun, are planted, whichever way you turn, in direct alleys;

leys; when these are filled with the beau monde, who resort here every evening, they indeed form a picture adequate to the name of the place. The favourite walk is at the back of the magnificent hotels in the Rue St. Honoré; whose gardens, laid out in all the vagaries of fancy, vie with each other for the palm. Leaving these, and crossing the high road, you enter that part which extends along the side of the river Seine; this is the place allotted for games and recreations; those most in vogue are foot-ball, (at which they are very expert,) skittles, and tennis. This place also abounds with ginguets, or little gardens, appropriated for drinking and dancing. To the latter they are much devoted, to the first very sparingly, it being by no means a common thing to see a Frenchman drunk. — (Example to Englishmen!) But if you will dance the four-and-twenty hours round, they will caper with you. The very poorest of the people have their evening balls, and club together, by subscribing a half-penny each to pay a blind fiddler and his boy. You may see fifty of these assemblies at a time; and the groupes are not in general unpleasantly mixed; barbers boys, with dirty faces, dirty shirts, and broad ruffles, handing, with all the air of a courtier, a red-fisted, coarse-clad, homely, wench, who perhaps bawled ballads through have the streets of Paris during the day. A Chevalier de St. Louis, who, rather than disgrace the bit of faded ribbon in his button-hole by stooping to work, submits to a state of daily starvation, existing on the pay of a foot-soldier; yet even he will pinch a penny from his hungry belly, to give his heels a treat in the evening; and, with his rusty silk hat under his arm, petition for the honour of handing a poissard, or fishwoman, down the dance, consigning the memory of his poverty till he creeps to his solitary garrat; — his withered muscles relax into smiles, and he gives into all the gaiety of the moment. Such is the character of this volatile nation. Let us a moment digress, and compare it with disposition of our own.

The ENGLISHMAN, naturally thoughtful, indulges this turn of mind, till he persuades himself into a belief that he is the most rational being and soundest philosopher in the world. He surveys the manners of other nations with a sovereign contempt for all their customs that differ,
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forsooth, from those he has been used to. This portrait appears to me to resemble my countrymen, fresh from their own fire-side. But, though their prejudices are strong, they are not incurable; since few of them, that make any stay abroad, but leave some of that rust behind which they carried with them from home; and, though they still retain (what I could wish every Englishman should) a preference for their native country, they are not so blind as to applaud her very errors, nor so uncandid as to condemn other nations for their peculiarities.

For this reason I would wish, if it were possible, all Englishmen to travel; whether it is because they possess sufficient good sense to reap solid advantages from it, or that they stand more in need of improvement than other nations, I leave to better judges than myself to determine.

As the French exceed us in gaiety, so they excel us in every thing that contributes to amusement. Their plays are represented in a style far superior to ours; the performers, generally speaking, infinitely surpass ours; in short, mirth and pleasure were the tutelar deities of Paris. But how is the scene changed!

Having thus given a very brief sketch of Paris and its inhabitants, I prepare to enter into a detail of political events, as they occurred during my residence there.

At the time of our arrival, (Christmas, 1791,) all was tolerably tranquil: the measures to be taken respecting the war with the emigrant princes were then agitating in the National Assembly. I was in the Assembly when M. Brissot made his motion for carrying the war into Germany, instead of making France the theatre. However, it was determined to act only on the defensive. I could not help then observing the want of unanimity in their council, since the most trivial expressions from one party operated like a call to arms upon the other; all was discord and confusion, resembling a school when the master quits his place. Things passed on in this manner, without any material occurrence, for some time; during which I obtained a place, which gained me the favour and patronage of many of the nobility, especially such as were about the queen, whom I had frequently the honour of seeing.
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She has been a fine woman, indeed is so still, but sorrow has left ravages on her person that time will not now repair. The king was a very corpulent man, about six feet high; and, if we might judge from his appearance, possessed more good-nature than understanding. The dauphin is a fine sprightly boy, about nine years old. The princess a delicate girl, not unlike the queen in person. The royal family were at that time little better than prisoners in the Château of the Thuilleries; every day at eleven they went to mass in the royal chapel, where the public had admittance to see them, and in the apartments as they passed. At noon, if the weather was tolerable, the king usually took an airing, when the garden-gates were thrown open to the people, to see him mount his horse. He rides in great jack-boots, such as are worn by his postillions, and looks better on horseback than on foot, as he waddles very much in his gait. He was usually accompanied by two or three gentlemen, and a detachment of his garde du corps, who, when he mounted, would cry, *Vive le Roi!* but his subjects regarded him as he passed with a sullen silence, that sufficiently evinces how little he was beloved by them. Indeed there was very little lost between them, they regarding him as a tyrant, aiming to reattain arbitrary power, and trample them more than ever under his feet: and he considered them as rebels that have deprived him of his rights, and insulted him by placing a limited sceptre in his hand. But what a solecism in politics did they commit, in placing a man on the throne, who had deserted it by a shameful flight; endeavouring to escape from the trammels of a constitution he had sworn to protect. Was the man, was the monarch, who could thus trifle with an oath, again to be trusted with the care of the people he had abandoned?

How did the king exercise his new-acquired power? — As common-sense might have told them he certainly would. He, who had once forfeited the Sacred faith he had so solemnly pledged, found no difficulty in swearing new oaths, and committing fresh treacheries; in employing every possible engine to forward the advances of the Austrians and Prussians; signing with one had a declaration of war, and paying with the other the enemy's troops.

From this double-dealing of the French king, we may justly date the miseries that follow. All such as I was a spectator of I will relate with truth. "Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

I will begin with the 20th of June last, the first day in which popular discontent began again to shew itself. In consequence of the king refusing to put his *veto*, that is to say, the ultimate decision of yes or no, whence there is no appeal; — a power till then vested in the monarch's breast by the nation, and the same that our king deservedly enjoys, *viz.* that of deciding on the fate of criminals before condemned to die, or putting the assent or negative on bills that have passed both houses; — in consequence of Louis refusing to sign two bills that had passed the Assembly, the one declaring his brothers traitors to the realm, and their estates confiscated; the other, banishing the refractory priests, who had refused to take the oath of fidelity to the new form of government; the people assembled in vast crowds, surrounding the palace, and loudly demanded entrance. The king sent to the mayor for a sufficient number of guards to protect his person. A vast number came, and patrolled the gardens in small divisions: wherever they found twenty or thirty persons assembled, breaking through and separating them. They also drew up several cannon on the terrace; and, planting them ready, paraded with lighted matches. Notwithstanding this appearance of danger, the people in great crowds entered the palace, filling all the royal apartments; and even went so far as to force open the door of the apartment where the king was sitting. He presented himself, and, as a grenadier, who was with him, told me, behaved with great personal bravery; desiring them, if it was his life they sought, to take it. The queen, with the dauphin in her hand, thinking they were going to assassinate him, rushed between, and, falling at his feet, begged of them to kill her first. They offered him a red cap, — the emblem of the Jacobin party; he took it, put it on his head, and, taking a bottle in his hand, drank to the health of the nation. They then insisted on his signing the two bills in question, and a deputation from the Assembly waited on him for that purpose. He desired twenty-four
hours

hours to consider of it, and with much difficulty carried his point; the people at last evacuating the palace, and retiring peaceably home.

Having thus narrowly escaped the fury of his enraged subjects, when the palace was cleared, he ordered all the gates to be shut, doubled the guards at every avenue, and formed a kind of encampment in the garden; he also issued peremptory orders, that no one should have admittance, but such as presented a ticket, which were distributed to none but those who had particular business with the court. These proceedings gave great umbrage to the people, who considered the shutting up of the royal gardens as an infringement of their liberties, and occasioned many broils between them and the centinels at the gates.

On some days they would open the terrace which goes round the garden, and admit the public. It was on one of these, that a Mr. Despremenil, formerly one of their ministers, and known to be a staunch friend to the court, or, in their own words, a strong aristocrat, was so imprudent as to walk there. He was soon recognized by the people, and followed. Finding the crowd press exceedingly upon him, he turned, and asked the meaning of it. Some one called him by name; he replied, Yes, gentlemen, I am Despremenil; what would you have? He had no sooner spoke, than he received a blow from a sabre, which was repeated till he fell. His friend, who was with him, called a guard to save him, if possible, from the fury of the mob; this, however, was not effected, till they had dragged him from the place where he fell to the Palais Royal, nearly half a mile. Here I saw him in the hands of the soldiers, who had rescued him, with not a piece of his clothes to cover him; and so mangled and bloody, it was scarcely possible to believe it was a man. Notwithstanding this treatment, he recovered, none of his wounds being mortal.

The news of these disturbances in the capital induced Mons. La Fayette to leave his army, and come unattended to town, to inform the Assembly of his sentiments on the insolent behaviour of the people to their sovereign. This he bravely performed; reprobating, in a manly and spirited manner, the mayor and ministers of the police to their
faces,

faces, for their neglect, in suffering a shameless rabble to insult their king. These sentiments turned against himself the tide of popular clamour; and the Jacobin party, who secretly vowed his ruin, seized the present occasion to paint his conduct in a most infamous light. Not having, however, as yet entirely converted their masters, the mob, to their way of thinking, Fayette escaped back to his post unhurt; having first paid his respects to his royal master and mistress, and assured them of his endeavours to protect them from a repetition of such outrages. His enemies, meanwhile, set every engine to work to accomplish his ruin; — representing him as a rebel, in leaving his post without orders from the nation; pointing out the marked preference he paid the queen, by waiting on her on his first arrival, before he went to the Assembly; and a thousand reports they circulated, to blacken his character, and despoil him of the public confidence. At length they completed their purpose. What is so inconstant as that weather-cock, public opinion, or popular favour? Fayette, the great, the wise, the celebrated, Fayette, experienced this. He, who was looked upon as the champion of liberty, the saviour of his country, the Washington of France, was now declared a traitor to the state, a price set upon his head, and his name consigned to infamy. The news of his countrymen's ingratitude soon reaching him, he withdrew, with a part of his army, into the town of Sedan. But here, not thinking himself secure, among a people so easily seduced from their principles, he, with his council of officers, left an army no longer worthy of their general, and, in spite of their diligent search after him, had the good fortune to elude the vigilance of his enemies.

Fayette's accusation and flight, causing an universal stir among the people, the Assembly took advantage of the moment; and, to increase the panic, caused standards to be erected in every part of the city, with this emphatical inscription, — *The country is in danger!* — Thus, as it were, putting the people on their guard against some hidden treason ready to burst forth. Meanwhile, the progress of the Austrian arms made it necessary to reinforce their armies on the frontiers; for this purpose, stages were erected in

in all the public places for enlisting recruits; all sizes and all ages were taken, and volunteers offered themselves in great numbers.

Meanwhile, great preparations were making to celebrate the grand fête of the confederation. As I had heard so much of the preceding ones, I was determined to see this; for which purpose I went early to the Champ de Mars, a large plain, in front of the Military school, where the youth performed their evolutions. This building, one of the most superb in Paris, was the academy for training the young nobility to arms; and, from among them, the king's body-guard was usually chosen. Round the field were banks thrown up, for the spectators to view the ceremony, and tents pitched for the municipal officers of Paris; also one, by way of ornament, for each of the eighty-three departments of France. The trees on each side were decorated with ribbons, and the cap of liberty at top; in the midst was the altar of the country, on which a tree of liberty was also planted; at the four corners were four beacons, on which they burned incense. About two o'clock in the afternoon the royal family arrived; and appeared at the balcony of the Military School, which was ornamented with rich canopies for their reception; the little dauphin wore a uniform the same as the national guards. The way from the door of the school to the altar was lined with the king's body-guard, who formed an alley through which he was to pass. The rest of the plain was filled with the National Guards, and detachments of troops from every department of France. One of the king's guard, fearing some accident might happen to the person of the king, proposed to his comrades to bind themselves by a solemn oath to defend him from all possibility of an attack, by keeping the passage impenetrable, permitting none but themselves to approach him. They instantly, as one man, drew their swords, and swore to preserve him or perish. They kept their oath accordingly, and, though many attempts were made to get near him as he passed, they were fruitless. His guard even ascended with him, contrary to custom, to the top of the altar; where, when he had sworn, a signal announced it to the people, and a tremendous discharge of cannon proclaimed

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it to the world. The queen kept her opera-glass stedfastly fixed on the king, from the time he quitted the balcony till his return. They retired, followed by a vast number of troops; but these were not sufficient to protect them from the hissings of the people.

This behaviour of the king's guard did not escape the notice of the Jacobins, who thought it was time to apply a remedy. Accordingly they were accused of being corrupted, to serve the king in opposition to the nation; and, by a decree from the Assembly, were disbanded, and an equal number of national guards put in their place.

This perpetual misunderstanding between the king and the people, and the constant bickerings which happened in political disputes were but so many preludes to a gathering storm, which burst forth in all its horrors on the memorable 10th of August, 1792. I will endeavour to be clear and faithful in the relation.

On the day of the 9th, vast numbers of carriages were observed going to and from the Thuilleries, and a more than ordinary number of the nobility were at the levee. From this bustle, it was conceived some extraordinary business was in agitation. Towards the evening the visitors increased, consisting of the first people of rank then residing at Paris. This intelligence reached M. Peion, the mayor, who, ever keeping a jealous eye on the king's proceeding, suspecting some new scheme, went in person to the palace at two o'clock in the morning: he found it as reported unusually crowded; and, as it was told him, they talked loudly of assassinating him in the apartments, he contrived to let the Assembly know of his situation. They were then sitting, and commanded him instantly to the bar of the House, to preserve his life. His report of what he had seen at the palace soon spread over the city, and the drums instantly beat to arms; the tocsin, or alarm bell, which is never rung but in cases of the extremest danger, sounded in every parish; and, at day-break, the whole city was in motion.

The court, in the mean time, were not idle; the night was passed in council, wherein it was determined the king should review the troops at day-break in the garden, and sound their sentiments. The Swiss they were already sure of,

of, as they had been kept in pay some time, and had each their departments allotted them in case of success. Accordingly, at six o'clock, the troops were assembled to the number of ten thousand, and passed in review before the king, who expressed much satisfaction at their appearance, conversing familiarly with the men. When the officers at length put the question to them, by asking them to cry *Vive le Roi!* the Swiss answered as they wished, but the national guards were silent. The demand was again repeated, when they filed off, and left the ground.

Notwithstanding this discouraging appearance, the court were determined to pursue the scheme, and venture the success of the day on the courage of the Swiss alone. They were accordingly planted at all the windows of the palace, in their barracks, and at the cannon in the court: in this order they waited the arrival of the people. The king, having thus laid the train and applied the match to it, instead of putting himself, like a brave man, at the head of those troops who were to fight for his crown and life, in conformity to his former conduct, fled with his family to the protection of that Assembly, whose ruin he hoped he had effectually contrived.

The Marseillois, who had come to Paris to have the grand question decided, whether the king had not, by his repeated treacheries, forfeited his right to the throne? were the first who appeared in arms on the Place de Carrousel. They were soon joined by numbers of the citizens, whom the alarm had assembled; some with muskets, others with pikes, or such instruments as came to hand. They advanced in a body to the gates, which were opened on their demanding entrance; and the Swiss, holding up their caps on their bayonets in token of friendship, invited them to advance; which they did within ten yards of the palace. Having thus drawn them into the middle, so that they could take them in every direction, they threw them cartridges from the windows, which the unthinking mob were giddy enough to scramble for: this was the signal to fire, when a tremendous cross discharge of musketry and cannon took place at the same moment, sweeping them in every direction, and laid upwards of three hundred in the dust. The rest, astonished for a moment, drew back; but, exasperated at the treachery of their enemies, rallied and returned

the charge like furies rather than men. The combat was fierce and bloody for near an hour, during which time the people were three several times in possession of the cannon of the Swiss, and as often lost them, every man at the guns being killed; in short, such was the conduct of the Swiss, that, at one time, victory seemed inclined to declare for them. They drove the mob before them in two directions; one party took the route of the Place Vendôme, where I met them, screaming as they ran, They fire the cannon on the people! I was not long left in doubt of this; the cannon were actually playing down the street, and the people fell on every side. Let me not omit mentioning that I also saw many of the national guards ranged with the Swiss, and firing on the people; these traitors thus joining which ever side appeared to them the strongest; for, in an hour afterwards, when the Swiss in their turn ran, not a blue coat was to be seen among them, being then mingled with the mob. The cavalry arriving, turned the fortune of the day; these brave fellows rode to the charge with a fury that bore down all opposition, and again recovered the cannon. The Swiss now took to their heels. I passed with difficulty through several streets, till I gained the Rue St. Honoré, at that end near the Palais Royal, which was another scene of action; where the Swiss were as yet victorious, though the ground was obstinately disputed; and the numbers of dead and dying men they carried by each moment proved how much the people suffered. They were also particularly careful in preserving their dead, while the bodies of the Swiss were left on the spot, and afterwards cut in small pieces by the enraged populace. The Gens d'Armerie again arrived to the assistance of the foot, and again brought victory with them: the rest, fired by their example, seconded their charge, and, in less than ten minutes, brought the limbs and heads of the Swiss on the points of their pikes. The Swiss, having exhausted all their ammunition, even to the last button on their jackets, took to flight: the people followed them to the palace, and even the very women, with sabres in their hands, joined the pursuit, entering close at the heels of the others: a dreadful carnage ensued; the great stair-case leading to the guard-chamber, the gallery, and all the royal apartments, were filled with dead. In vain they

they begged for quarter, none was given; the domestics, and all that were found in the palace, were put to death; some, leaping from the windows, and others being thrown, were caught on the points of the bayonets and pikes. Numbers fled into the garden, but, that being surrounded on all sides, they were there massacred: the porters at each of the gates shared the same fate. A regiment of Swiss, quartered about two leagues from Paris, hearing of the situation of their comrades, hastened to their assistance; and had reached the Place Louis XV. when they were met by the people, who instantly charged, and cut most of them to pieces; such as escaped were sent prisoners to the Palace de Bourbon, of whom we shall speak farther.

I was obliged to remain a sad spectator this day of more scenes of horror than I wished; it being impossible to pass the streets to get home. Two grenadiers, coming up to talk with a lady near the spot, I inquired which way they were going; and, finding it was my road, requested them to let me walk with them, as I was exceedingly inconvenienced alone, being stopped every instant to demand what I did without arms. They politely acquiesced; and, taking one of them by the arm, we turned out of the Rue St. Honoré, intending to gain the Pont Neuf, passing by the old Louvre; but, when we had reached the corner, we met a detachment of cannon and musketeers, who began the attack on the Louvre. A detachment of Swiss was lodged in the apartments on that side, to form a diversion and separate the people; they returned the fire from the windows, and I was obliged to stand the chance of the moment between my two comrades, who fired with the rest. The Swiss were soon dislodged from their post by the cannon. A few of the people fell at this corner; one man almost at our feet; but, when the cannon advanced, so that I could pass them, thanking my two friends for their civility, I took my leave and pursued my way to the Pont Neu, which was full of wounded and dead men lying on mattrasses, brought for the moment out of the slaughter. These sights had no attractions to detain me there; I hastened to embrace my family, to whom, thanks be to God, I returned safe; and they, living in a retired quarter of the Fauxbourg St. Germain, (though they knew, by the report of the guns, there was some

commotion in the city,) had not then learnt how serious the affair was; so that, though they were anxious for my safety, they had not suffered so much as they would have done had they known the particulars. I cannot pretend to say I saw the after-transactions of that day, since I assure the reader I had no inclinations to risk the same dangers I had escaped from for farther observation; but we heard the report of the musketry and cannon all the evening. We also saw, from the top of our house, the flames ascending from the Swiss barracks, in front of the Thuilleries.

Towards evening, a M. Clermont Tonnerre, who lived in our street, a member of the National Assembly, was seized by the mob in the Rue de Sevre, at the back of our house, as he was going home, and accused of being in the secret of the intrigues of the court. This was enough: they beheaded him with a sabre in the street; and nearly about the same time his son met the same fate, in the garden of the Thuilleries. He was also a member of the Assembly. The bodies were, in the evening, conveyed to his house, and this spectacle of horror presented to his wife. The savages did not murder her with their hands, but nature could not sustain this barbarous shock, — she died the next morning of grief. Thus was a whole family, in twelve hours, extinct.

The night at length covered, with her sable mantle, a day, in which not less than seven or eight thousand people perished; of the Swiss regiment scarcely a body was left not dismembered. The most diligent search was now made after all such as were supposed to be privy to the plot. The shallow artifice of the king was easily seen through; and, beginning with him, they deprived him of the exercise of all his functions, and sent him prisoner, with his family, to the Temple. A tribunal was instituted to try those who were taken up on suspicion; and a guillotine, the machine for beheading criminals, erected in the Place de Caroussel, opposite the great gate of the palace, for such as should be convicted. The first who suffered by it was the Chevalier d'Aigremont, accused of having a principal share in the management of his master's designs. He was condemned at six in the evening, and suffered between nine and

and ten, dying with great calmness and intrepidity. With no less fortitude followed M. La Porte, intendant of the civil list; he was condemned for keeping spies in pay, for the purpose of conveying intelligence to the enemy, and of holding a correspondence with the emigrants. He suffered three hours after his condemnation.—I saw him die.

Du Rosoy, the editor of an aristocratic newspaper, was the next. He had taken very great liberties with the present heads of the nation; and, poor fellow, paid for his wit the forfeit of his head. He told the people, he was proud to die for his king on the day of St. Louis, which it happened to be.

About this time, the rapid progress of the Prussian arms alarmed the people; and the taking of Longwi and Verdun not a little increased the panic. They were determined to muster an army that should swallow the Austrians; and, if numbers could effect it, they were determined to stop their career. But, before they went to encounter the enemy, they were resolved to perform some exploits at home. The first thing they set about was defacing every thing that bore the stamp, or had the least affinity, to royalty. The noble statues of Henry IV. on the Pont Neuf; Louis XV. at the place of that name; Louis XIII. at the Place Vendôme; Louis XIV. at the Place Victoire, and another at the Place Royal; these masterpieces of art, the admiration of travellers, and the ornament of the city, were in an instant overturned; and the metal which composed them melted down for cannon. Many fine pieces of sculpture, that were trophies of the greatness of their former kings, were now become so many eye-sores to the people, who accordingly pulled them down.

Had their fury stopped here, and their vengeance been only wreaked on stone and statues, it would have been well; but, grown arrogant in destruction and insolent in the exercise of lawless power, they resolved on the commission of crimes, that will be an everlasting blot in the annals of France. Every prison was by this time filled with those apprehended on suspicion of being privy to the plot of the 10th of August; and the guillotine did not ap-
pear

near to the mob to make a sufficient dispatch; wherefore, these gentry, who were at that time literally the rulers of the nation, determined on a speedier course, by taking the executive as well as judicial power into their own hands.

They began with the refractory priests, who had refused taking the oath of fidelity to the new constitution. These had been banished by a decree of the Assembly, and fifteen days allowed them to depart the kingdom in; but a quicker passage was now found them. As many as were in prison were brought out, and massacred in cold blood. This bloody work begun on Sunday afternoon, September 2, and spread, with most unparalleled fury, in the convent of the Carmes, within a quarter of a mile from us; one hundred and eighty were slaughtered in private houses; in the streets, wherever a priest was found, that was known not to have taken the oath, he was led to the place of butchery.

These monsters had now waded so far in blood, that cruelty became familiar to them; and they were determined to wrest the sword from the hands of the law, and erect a tribunal of their own. Their manner of proceeding was this: when a formidable band of these armed ruffians had entered one of the prisons, one of them assumed the office of judge; and, holding in his hand a list of the names of such as were confined there, he called them over, and the unhappy culprits were obliged to appear when demanded. When the criminal appeared, the judge, laying his hand upon his head, demanded of his fellow-savages, if they might, in honour, release that man. If his crime was for debt, they answered, No! and he was ordered to pass by such a door, where the mob was ready to receive him. He, from the sentence, expecting no other than immediate death, was agreeably disappointed to find himself ordered to cry *Vive la Nation!* and enlist for the frontiers. On the other hand, such as were confined on the bare suspicion of treason, when it was demanded if the nation might acquit them? the jury answered, Yes! A fatal sign for the criminal! who, thinking he was going to be set at liberty, was ordered to pass by a different door, where

where his executioners were ready to receive him, and he was instantly murdered.

This was all the form of the trials of the new court of justice; what claim it had to that sacred name, the facts themselves determine.

By this bloody process fell M. Montmorin, *ci-devant* minister of France, who had been tried and acquitted of the crimes laid to his charge; but, this not contenting the people, he was detained till their farther pleasure was known. His corpse was dragged through the streets, and treated with indignities too shocking to mention. Major Bachmar, the commander of the Swiss guards, an aged and respectable officer, when they seized him, and were going to behead him with their sabres, begged of them to let him die by the guillotine. This grace was accorded him; and he was accordingly tried and executed, all in the space of an hour.

But, among their enormities, none exceeded their treatment of the princess Lamballe: this lady, the favourite and constant attendant of the queen, had accompanied her royal mistress to the place of her confinement, to do the necessary office of a menial servant, that others might not be witnesses to royalty in distress. The merciless mob, ever ready to contribute to the sorrows of the queen, knowing the friendship between her and this lady, and, thinking the dissolving it would cost royalty a pang, entered the Temple, and, before her mistress, commanded her to prison. The parting was truly interesting, and worthy of the noble sufferers. The queen has ever since refused all other attendance; and, if she is living at this moment, makes her own bed. The princess was conducted to the Biscère; and, when her crime was read to her, it was, O heinous transgression! an inviolable attachment to her royal mistress. Her judges offered to spare her life, if she would cry *Vive la Nation!* But she, seeing their design was only to mock her, disdained to prostitute her tongue; and firmly answered, "I have lived as a princess, I will die as one; I know nothing but my life will content you; take it, it is but one more added to the enormous list of your crimes, — they will one day be avenged." — They took her at her word; and, on the spot separated

separated her head from her body, and, placing it on a pike, with her entrails on another, they tied a rope round the feet of the naked body, and began a shameful procession through the streets, stopping opposite her house; and, to complete their infamy, entering the Temple, and commanded the king and queen to the window, where they presented the mangled remains of their beloved and favourite friend.

Were I to relate particular anecdotes of each unfortunate victim of these commotions, it would fill a volume; suffice it to say, that, no doubt, some culpable, but much more innocent, blood was shed. The number of people massacred in the city of Paris only, in the course of forty-eight hours, was estimated at least at ten thousand!—Thus had these courageous volunteers proved their valour to their countrymen, by attacking, and totally destroying, in cold blood, a number of unarmed men. After parting with the laurels they had thus gained, they went to meet the enemy; singing, in a triumphant manner, as if they were returning from a victory, *ça ira!*

A proof of French courage, which may serve for an epitome of the whole nation, may be gathered from the following fact:

Being a stranger, I had been hitherto exempt from mounting guard; but, in these disorderly times, they hinted to me it would be taken well by the section, if I made a patrol with them; which I accordingly did; and, the first night, the company I was in were ordered to mount guard on the Swiss confined in the Palais de Bourbon. This is an immense building, rather like a town than a house; consisting of many spacious courts, all which we had to cross, after entering, to arrive at the part where the Swiss were lodged. When the great gate, which opened to receive us, shut again, the creaking of the hinges electrified our party; who began to inquire how many we were? Upon a muster, we found our number forty-eight; they then very naturally inquired the number of the Swiss, which was near two hundred; but the consideration that we had arms and they had none kept up our spirits, in crossing the large square and covered ways, till we came to the garden, which runs by the river-side. Here we were stationed,

stationed, opposite the apartments in which the prisoners were lodged; and here the conversation ran high on the supposition, if the Swiss should rise, what was to be done? Some few made a show of resistance, but the majority took the more prudent precaution of looking for the easiest place to get over the wall. Experienced generals could have done no more than securing a good retreat. Fresh patrols arriving every half hour, as our numbers increased our hearts gained courage; and some of the most hardy at length ventured to peep into the prisoners apartments, to see how they were employed: when, behold, these men, whose imaginary insurrection had given so much uneasiness to their guard, were, almost to a man, fast asleep on the rich sofas, chairs, and carpets; for, by the bye, their prison was no mean one, being the richest apartments of the prince Conti, brother to the king, who formerly kept three thousand domestics in livery and constant pay.

“ Cowards are cruel; but the brave

“ Love mercy, and delight to save!”

The latter is not the characteristic of a Frenchman: for the humble situation of the Swiss prisoners could not secure them from the taunts and reproaches of their vain-glorious victors. To such as talked reasonably, the men owned they were betrayed, being promised the support of all the national guards: and the French nobility, who had sworn to stand by them, when the moment of trial came, were not to be found; being each one concealed in some corner for his personal safety, and they were left alone to stand the chance of the day. How they behaved, thousands of widows and orphans have cause to remember.

The fate of these unfortunate men, who had sold their faith for a paltry bribe and a courtier's promise, was decided among the exploits of the new police. The private men were set at liberty, and the officers put to the sword, their bodies being scattered on the new bridge, formerly called the Pont de Louis XVI. now the Pont de la Liberté. Carts were employed all day long in carrying the dead to pits dug in the fields, where they were thrown in. I met several of these carts, and the wretches capering and sing-

ing their favourite air, while trampling on the corpses they had made.

Another patriotic thought fired them at this time, which proved fatal to many of them: this was plundering the tombs and churches of the leaden coffins, to melt down for casting bullets. Upon opening them, a pestilential vapour flew from the bodies, and suffocated numbers; indeed, the contagion began to spread so much, that, with that and the vapour from the number of dead bodies, a plague was feared as the consequence. A decree, therefore, was passed, forbidding such attempts in future.

I beg the reader's permission, in this place, to make some corrections on our public papers; whose statements of particular facts, happening at this period in Paris, are exceedingly inaccurate. Their correspondents were certainly misinformed, or, what appears most probable to me, they had no correspondent there; but, presuming on the public curiosity, have created some anecdotes, and exaggerated others which were bad enough before.

For the satisfaction of the public at large, and individuals who may be interested, I beg leave to insert the following:

Three men were condemned to suffer at the Place de Grève, one of them, the Abbé Savade, for forging assignats. The priest requested to be taken before the mayor, as he had something of importance to discover. Accordingly his two companions suffered, and he was conducted to the Hôtel de Ville; where, it appearing his intention was only to cause a fruitless delay of time, he was remanded for execution, which was immediately performed on him. The executioner, taking his head out of the sack in which it dropped, as cruelty was become a fashion, attempted to shew it with a more than ordinary air to the people; and, while turning carelessly on his heel with the head in his hand, a sudden convulsion distorted the features, which so terrified the man that he lost his balance; and, falling from the scaffold on the bayonet of a soldier who stood near, was so severely wounded that it occasioned his death.

It is with pleasure I assure the public, that the following persons, positively affirmed in many of our prints to be

be massacred, are not only alive, but some of them in England.

The Cardinal du Rochefoucault. — A guard was ordered to his house, of which I with difficulty avoided being one: my neighbour on the same stage went. They passed the night in his house, and his papers were examined, but nothing appeared to criminate him.

Both Madame and Mademoiselle Touzel were alive when I left Paris; long after they were killed in the English papers.

Madame the princess Tarrante, I am particularly happy to say, is safe in England; she arrived at the same inn where I was, at Boulogne, two hours after me, and crossed safely to Dover almost immediately.

The shocking anecdotes related of the Countess de Chèvre and children are equally untrue; as I assure the public, on the faith of an honest man, no such circumstance ever happened.

The Parisian mob have sufficiently disgraced human nature by their actions; but let even those actions be recorded with truth; vulgarly speaking, *let us give the devil his due*. Among their modes of putting people to death, burning them alive was not one; nor was there any property committed to the flames. I humbly conceive, when the editors of those papers, who thus describe these late events, were preparing them for the press, they had recourse to the riots in London, in the year 1780, to piece out their original intelligence from France. For every man, resident in Paris at that time, knows, with me, that all property was carefully preserved; even the least felony was punished with instant death: and this conduct, in an otherwise ungovernable mob, was matter of astonishment to me, since they certainly sought not plunder but life.

In the convent of the Carmes, very near the spot where I lived, both the number and the manner of the massacre are erroneous. When the mob arrived, a strong party went into the garden behind the convent, and some entered, ordering the unfortunate priests (among whom were many bishops, and other dignitaries of the church,) to turn out into the garden: the miserable men demanded,

if it was to kill them? but received no other answer from their furlly butchers, than to go; thus driving them behind, while the rest fell upon them as they came out in a body: yet, from this terrible carnage, fourteen escaped over the walls, though most of them wounded. One of these men thus related it to me.

The Parisians determining to settle all accounts with the Swiss, a strong party of the mob was, as it were, dispatched from the main body, to pay a visit to a large *Caserne*, or barracks, belonging to them, two leagues from Paris: here they proceeded in their usual manner, destroying all they found. Meantime, the dreadful example at Paris had excited some commotion at Orléans; and heavy complaints were made of the number of prisoners confined there. They were accordingly ordered under an escort to Paris; but their executioners met them at Versailles, and, out of fifty-four, killed fifty-two; the two surviving were saved, on proving that they were only servants attending their masters, and not imprisoned for any crime imputed to them. Among these, fell Monsieur le Duc de Brissac, formerly governor of the city of Paris.

To give some degree of colour to their proceedings, various reasons were assigned; the following were the most popular.

On the Sunday the massacre began: a man, condemned for some paltry crime, was fastened to the *carcan* (a kind of pillory) in the Place de Grève, with his crime written on his head; which is the punishment of those convicted of petty offences not amounting to felony, who are thus exposed during an hour or two, according to the sentence. This man's time being nearly expired, on a sudden he cried out, "*Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine! Vive la Fayette! Au diable la Nation!*" This was enough to fire the populace, who seized him, and would have torn him to pieces; but the municipal officers interfered, and begged he might be examined as to what were his motives for such behaviour. It was accordingly circulated, that this frantic wretch was privy to a plot, which was to be carried into execution as soon as the troops should be parted from Paris; in which all the prisoners were to have their liberty, and arms given them to assist in ravaging and plundering the city. How far

far this story wore the air of probability; I leave to every man to make his own comment. But the poor lunatic was carried to the guillotine, and beheaded for his treason. Among the new regulations, an order was now issued for a general search to be made for arms, in the apartments and private houses of the citizens: such as concealed any, or refused parting with them, were to be punished with death on the spot, by the guard who made the search. I did not escape my share of this business. Being alarmed one morning, between three or four o'clock, with a violent knocking at the door, which continued incessantly till I opened it, which I did in my shirt; when in rushed a band of ruffians, their behaviour meriting no better term, armed with muskets, sabres, and pikes. I demanded their business; they answered, To search for arms; which they instantly set about without ceremony. I requested them to have a moment's patience, while my wife slipped on her clothes, and I would give them a sabre, (which, by the bye, cost me thirty livres but three days before,) being all the arms I had: but these polished Frenchmen, or rather French monsters, would not wait; rushing into our chamber, and indecently turning my wife and child out of bed, to search that we had no arms concealed in the mattresses. Finding no more, they took my sabre, promising me I should be sure to have it returned, on applying for it at the section. I applied, and was shewn into a room, where were a few old swords, which I suppose nobody would own; but mine was too handsome to be returned: I never saw it again.

This search for arms was followed by another for horses; and, in one afternoon, all the stables of the great hotels and houses of the nobility were stripped; they being obliged to sacrifice all they kept, except two to draw the carriage, for the defence of their country. Nay, they even stopped many of the *fiacres*, or hackney-coaches, and took away the horses, leaving the coach, with its grumbling master, in the street; he scarcely daring to complain, for fear of losing his life, for his want of *patriotism*, as they would term it.

Indeed, so great was the terror of being taken for an aristocrat, that it was not safe at this time to walk the streets

streets in a round hat, except you chose to be pointed at for a priest.

Every section was now ordered to furnish its quota of recruits for the frontiers; and they began to draw every tenth man. Many thus drawn were obliged to leave their disconsolate families. But they had no occasion to continue this long; for such numbers enrolled themselves, that they could not furnish the half with arms. Regimentals were out of the question, except each volunteer could purchase his own. Their appearance answered to Falstaff's description of his company — *a shirt and a half among the whole*. A lesson or two completed their military education, there being no time to waste; and their drilling was truly laughable for the spectator; for, when ordered to face about, they stood like sheep in a pen, some looking one way, some another.

These were the troops sent to reinforce M. Luckner, and the old general very quaintly wrote to the Assembly to recall their volunteers, as men, without arms or discipline, were no soldiers.

Paris was now pretty well exhausted of fire-arms; that is to say, of muskets; but their place was supplied by the pikes, or sharpened pieces of iron on long poles, like a sergent's spontoon. All the blacksmiths were exempted from going to the frontiers, that a sufficient quantity of these pikes might be made, to arm the inhabitants.

Every place of amusement was now shut up, and religious rites turned out of the churches, to make room for assemblies of armed men; each section holding their debates and council in the church belonging to it; a tribune being erected opposite the president's chair, in imitation of the National Assembly, which now began to give place to the grand *National Convention*.

Many of the new deputies being arrived, they took their place in the great hall of the Château of the Thuilleries, whither the old Assembly waited on them to congratulate them. Many of the ancient members being chosen into the new senate, particularly the chiefs of the Jacobine party, such as Petion, Talliard, Camus, Brissot, Thuriot, &c. &c. The first decree they passed, was declaring
France

France to be no longer a monarchic government, but a *Republic*.

Thus is the gayest and liveliest city in the world, once the seat and fountain of pleasure, changed into a dreary desolated place; where murder stalks in all its horrors, and anarchy lets loose her thousand furies to scourge a miserable people. Commerce is at a total stop, trade and manufactures are no more, law and justice are dead, and the wretched inhabitants in danger of falling a prey to an approaching famine, to the enemy's sword, or to the cruelty of their far greater enemies, those within their own walls.

To sum up every thing, their unfortunate king was, on the 21st of January, 1793, brought to the scaffold, for crimes which the ill-treatment of an over-bearing and unjust populace had driven him to commit. — In order not to interrupt this narrative, I have subjoined a short account of the life, trial, and execution, of this unhappy man; with a representation of that machine by which so many victims have untimely suffered!

Such a place could have few attractions to detain me longer; I, therefore, made application for my passport to return to England, which with much difficulty I obtained; and, disposing of my little property as well as I could, I agreed with a horse-dealer for a horse and cabriolé to take us to Boulogne, and left Paris, where I had spent formerly many a happy, but lately many an uneasy, hour.

The first thing of note on the road, was the new Camp, beginning to be formed round Paris, at the distance of about five English miles: this is to serve as the last stake. It is pretty much advanced on the side of

St. DENIS, a considerable village or town, six miles from Paris; celebrated for being the burial-place of the French monarchs, who are interred in an ancient but handsome cathedral here. We pursued our journey without interruption to

ECOEN, a pleasant little village, twelve miles from Paris. Here we were stopped by the town-guard, who very magisterially demanded our passports: having satisfied these gentlemen, we were suffered to proceed. At the next village, we were ordered to turn out, that the guard might
examine

examine the chest, to see that we had no arms concealed. Having gone through this ceremony, we arrived at

MENIL AUBRY, where we dined. And I here beg leave to offer a hint to such as would travel in France with economy:—however singular or awkward it would appear to see a traveller enter the kitchen of an English inn, and begin bargaining with the cook for a joint of meat roasting on the spit; it is not only customary, but very necessary, in France; as, should you omit agreeing for the price of every individual article of your dinner before you eat it, you will find the landlord, considering you as a young traveller, will not forget to make you pay swingingly for experience.

After dinner, we jogged on at an orderly pace, till, meeting a long train of powder-waggon's going to the camp, we were commanded, by the advanced guard, to turn off the pavé, and wait patiently on one side, till the last waggon had past, and the rear guard should permit us to proceed. These orders we obeyed, as also to echo several times, *Vive la Nation!* and, without molestation, reached

CHANTILLY, distant from Paris ten leagues. This was our first day's stage; and, putting up at a house kept by an English woman, we procured a comfortable cup of tea with toast in the English style. Having some day-light to spare, we employed it in viewing the magnificent palace of the prince Condé, a description of which I cannot undertake; as, instead of an hour, which was all the time we had, we might well have spent a year in contemplating its numerous beauties. The elegant theatre in the garden is decorated with a vast profusion of riches, no expence being spared to render it a place adequate to the amusement of kings and princes. When they give any particular grand piece, the stage is so contrived that they can lengthen it to an amazing perspective, taking in a large part of the garden, making nature combine with art to heighten the beauty of the scene. To enter the palace, or château, which is surrounded with water, you must cross a draw-bridge. The apartments all bespeak the magnificence of the owner; and it is with regret I saw a museum of curiosities

ties of all kinds, collected at an immense expence, celebrated by travellers and connoisseurs as one of the most complete selections in Europe, now deserted by its owner, and left the prey of an insolent and ignorant rabble, who had already begun their depredations here, having stripped the lead from the stables, and thrown down the arms that graced the magnificent portal. These stables contain stalls for one thousand horses, with an amphitheatre for leaping them, and balconies for the spectators. Within them, are also commodious places for the dogs; and the architecture of the whole building seems rather fit for a royal palace.

Early next morning we left this charming spot, and reached

CLERMONT, a village situated on a high hill, to breakfast. Here we met great numbers of young recruits going to the frontiers, which we did during the whole day on the road; so that we were perpetually taking off our hats and bawling *Vive la Nation!* which is the tribute exacted from every passenger by these gentry. In the evening we were not very well pleased to find ourselves obliged to put up with our old quarters at

BRETEUIL. The reader may remember this place in the beginning of our narrative. I am sure, if he had once slept there, he never would forget it. However, I this time prevailed on the chamber-maid to let us have a less apartment than we had before, that we might at least console ourselves by conceiting we slept in a room and not in a dungeon. We rose at day-break, and pursued our journey to

AMIENS. Having given a sketch of this city, I shall only observe, that unfortunately we arrived on a maigre day; I say unfortunately, for we had travelled all that day, and it was then two o'clock, without breaking our fast; and, when I inquired what we could have for dinner, they told me milk or soup-maigre, which is much the same. It was with much persuasion we prevailed on the bigotted Picards to kill us a fowl and roast it: they would not have partaken of it, I suppose, on any account. However, we got a dinner at last, and departed for

END OF THE FIRST PART OF THE

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FLIXCOUR,

FLIXCOUR, where we supped, and slept at a very comfortable, and, what is not very common in France, a very clean, house. The next morning we reached

ABBEVILLE to breakfast; and, pushing on pretty much that day, in the evening gained

MONTREAL. In the morning I took a walk on the ramparts to view the fortifications. Its situation on a hill renders it strong by nature, but they have spared no pains to give it the additional strength of art; and it is esteemed one of the strongest places in this part of France. The town is neat and exceedingly clean, the houses well built; the prospect from the ramparts is extensive and over a pleasant country; a small river surrounds the place, which is about two miles in circuit. We breakfasted here, having but seven leagues to Boulogne.

About the half-way, at

SAMMIE, we were stopped; and, on my alighting from the chaise, a file of musketeers surrounded me, whose officer demanded our passports, which he examined very minutely, regarding our persons to see if the description tallied with them. This learned body being satisfied, they returned them, and suffered us to proceed; when we arrived within half a league of Boulogne. Being on high ground and the weather clear, we had a most charming view of the town and port; but, what crowned the prospect, and afforded us the most pleasing sensations, was the white cliffs of England, which bounded the view.

We again passed examination before we were permitted to enter

BOULOGNE; which, except its situation on the French coast, might, without impropriety, be called an English town; the inhabitants being two-thirds English, and the houses built of brick. We thought ourselves at home here. We slept at the star, an excellent inn, kept by Mr. Knowles; where I would also recommend my countrymen who travel that way.

The next morning we were conducted before a little hump-backed Abbé, the municipal officer of the town, who was to sign our passports before we could embark; he received us very politely, and signed them immediately. But we had yet another ceremony, which was, to take them to the corps

corps de garde, to deposit them with the commanding officer. This gentleman chose to embarrass us a little; because the Abbé had not signed all the papers; which he said was necessary, he was for detaining us, and sending us back to the Abbé to know the reason of it. The packet was, then ready to sail, and, if this gentleman's obstinacy had not been over-ruled by his colleagues in office, we might probably have staid in France another tide. However, his scruples subsiding, we embarked, and, with a fair wind, steered out of the harbour, leaving, with joyful hearts, a country, in which we had, through divine Providence, escaped many imminent dangers. We had pleasant passage of five hours, and landed at Dover about five o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st of February, 1793, having been absent from England fourteen months.





The GUILLOTINE, or MODERN BE-
HEADING MACHINE, at Paris.

1. The King. — 2. The Priest. — 3. The Mayor.

THE

Life, Trial, and Execution,

OF HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY

L O U I S X V I .

Late KING of FRANCE and NAVARRE,

Who was executed, at Paris, January 21,
1793, by his own Subjects.

L O U I S X V I . late King of France, was born August 23, 1754; and, being heir apparent to the crown, was brought up and educated in such a manner as was thought most likely to prepare and enable him to sway the sceptre with such equity, judgement, and dignity, as the immense magnitude of the French government required; and, in the early part of his education, gave uncommon proofs of possessing a lively genius. It is however said that, as he approached to manhood, he became something remiss in his studies, and varied in his principles; which, if true, and not proceeding from prejudice, must be too trifling to lessen him in the esteem of his subjects, as appears from what took place after his marriage with the Princess Maria Antonietta of Austria, sister to the late Emperor of Germany. On the 16th of May, 1770, and in the month of September following, 560 persons were killed or crushed to death, by the croud pressing to see the fire-works exhibited on that occasion. His father Louis, then Dauphin of France, dying at Fontainebleau, on the 20th of December, 1765, in the 36th year of his age, and his mother Maria Sophia of Saxony died, at Versailles, on the 13th of March, 1767, aged thirty five years. His grandfather Louis XV. was taken ill of a fever, which was by some said to be the small-pox, and died, after a few days illness, at Versailles, on the 10th of May, 1774, in the 64th year of his

his age, and the 59th of his reign, being succeeded by Louis XVI. who was greatly beloved at the time he ascended the throne of France, as may be plainly perceived by what follows. — On the young King's passing through Paris, on his way to Muette, incredible numbers of people flocked about his majesty, rending the air with their cries of "Long live the King!" The young monarch, moved at these tokens of their loyalty and attachment to his person, put his head out of the coach and repeatedly exclaimed "Long live my people! your happiness shall be the principal object of my care." His Majesty, farther to testify his heart-felt satisfaction, had the price of bread lowered, and made the following speech to his ministers in council, the 20th of May, 1774.

"My just grief must now give way to the more pressing duties of royalty. I have assembled you in order to make my intentions known to you: I mean to be regularly present in council, and take the advice of such whom I shall think worthy of it by their wisdom and zealous attachment. Let every one of you be prepared at the time, to be by me appointed, to hold himself in readiness, and deliver me a true and faithful account of his transactions in the department allotted for him, and receive my commands for the execution of what may be determined in my council. As I have nothing in view but the glory of my kingdom and the happiness of my people, your concurrence alone to these objects will secure you my approbation." And, in order to promote the welfare of the nation at large, he called the parliament together, which dined at three tables for the first time.

This short narrative is only intended to state such interesting points as appear most necessary to furnish the candid reader with a clear idea of the subject in view; and, with such intent, we beg leave to pass on to the 4th of August, 1777, when the King seemed inclinable to espouse the American cause, by ordering their privateers to leave the French ports, which was not any farther put in force than to preserve appearances. And how far Louis XVI. endeavoured to succour the Americans throughout that war is too well known to need insertion, as the French forces, by sea and land, proved chiefly instrumental

strumental in separating them from the British government, and probably the cause of involving all France in the unheard-of calamities that have since befallen that nation; for, during those years that forces remained in and about America, it may reasonably be expected that more or less of them did not only become acquainted with the language, but also with numerous publications put out by the people in their own behalf, which cannot be otherwise considered than as full of invectives against their mother-country, from whose government they were endeavouring to separate themselves: and, if such inflammatory pamphlets did not infect the minds of all the French seamen and soldiers with ideas they had been no ways accustomed to, it, without doubt, infected many, and that in such a manner as not to be forgotten on their return to France; from which time a sort of flame seems to have appeared among the inhabitants, which overspread the whole kingdom in such a manner as to diminish the king's popularity and bring on the revolution that took place on the 20th of June, 1789, followed by his majesty's flight to Varennes in June 1791, and the death of 8 or 10,000 soldiers and citizens on the 10 of August, 1792, and nearly, if not quite, as many that were massacred in cool blood on the 2d of September, 1792, with the final destruction of himself, family, relations, friends, and dependants, of various kinds, previous to his examination, which is as follows:

The Convention having ordered his majesty to be confined as a prisoner in the Temple, with the rest of his family, from the 10th of August to the 11th of December, 1792, when the mayor of Paris, by their order, proceeded to the Temple. When Louis received the first signal about 8 o'clock in the morning, by the municipal officer, informing him, that the mayor of Paris was arrived and would explain the matter. About one in the afternoon Louis left the Temple, escorted by large bodies of horse and foot, under the command of Santerre. The mayor and two members of the Convention accompanied him in the carriage, around which upwards of thirty municipal officers attended. The announcement of his arrival being made at the door of the Convention, which was

was before exceedingly tumultuous, was distinguished by an awful stillness. The members were all seated; the tribunes observed the most perfect silence; and the scene became highly grand and impressive. It was immediately decreed, that Louis should be brought to the bar. In the interval, Barrere, the president, made a short speech, in which he recommended to the members of the Assembly and citizens in the tribunes a strict perseverance of that decorum and dignity, which so momentous an occasion became the majesty of the people. Louis now entered the bar, accompanied by the mayor, commandant-general, and état-major of the Parisian guard, and presented to the astonished eyes of the inhabitants of Paris the novel and awful spectacle of a monarch appearing in a state of accusation before a tribunal composed of his own subjects. He was dressed in a plain fawn-coloured riding-coat; appeared perfectly composed, with a dignity of mien rather suited to a sense of his former consequence than his present situation, and with a countenance somewhat more healthy than might have been expected. He looked round him with an air of surprise, yet without expressing any strong emotion, and seemed, for a short time, to have his eye arrested by the standards captured from the enemy, which were affixed as decorations on the ceiling of the hall. Having taken his seat at the bar, being previously informed that he might do so, the president addressed his late sovereign, in the midst of profound silence, in the following terms: "Louis, the people of France accuse you.—The National Convention has decreed that you shall be tried, and that its members shall be your judges. You will now hear the declaration of the crimes imputed to you, and you are to answer to such questions as shall be proposed." To this address the king made no reply. The declaration of each charge was then made by the secretary, and the interrogatory put on every separate article by the president.

President. You are accused of interrupting, on the 20th of June, 1789, the sitting of the then Constituent Assembly, by suspending the members from their functions, and violently driving them from their place of convention.

Louis.

Louis. There existed, at that time, no law which forbade such a use of my power.

President. On the 28th of June, 1789, you surrounded the sitting of the Constituent Assembly with troops, — then repaired thither to dictate laws to the nation, by presenting to the Assembly two royal declarations, subversive of liberty, and by arbitrarily commanding the members to separate.

Louis. I acted according to the rights with which I was then invested.

President. In July, 1789, you ordered the regiment of *Flanders* to march to Versailles, with a considerable body of other troops, by which measure the lives of several citizens were lost, — which army did not remove till the *Bastille* was taken and a general insurrection had ensued.

Louis. At that period I possessed the right of marching the troops where I deemed necessity to require, — but I had no design, wish, or intention, of shedding blood.

President. You affected to accept the constitution on the 14th of September, 1791; — your speech pronounced that you meant to maintain it, yet you laboured its overthrow before it was completed.

Louis. No specification is made how I attempted to overturn the constitution I had accepted. — I cannot answer a nullity.

President. You neglected to raise the army to the usual war-establishment, and opposed the levying 20,000, as decreed by the Legislative Assembly.

Louis. I gave positive orders to the ministers to augment the army to the war-establishment, — likewise ordered a list of it to be laid before the Assembly. If my ministers either were deceived or deceived themselves I am not to blame.

President. You gave orders to the commanders of the troops to disorganize the armies, to excite whole regiments to desert, and to pass the Rhine, in order that they might join your brothers and Leopold of Austria. This fact is proved by a letter from Toulangeon.

Louis. There is not a word of truth in this accusation.

President. You did not inform the legislative body of the hostile intentions of Prussia till the 10th of July, 1792,

when you announced that 50,000 of her troops were marching against France.

Louis. I had no knowledge of the fact before that period; all the diplomatic correspondence passed through the channel of the ministers.

President. You have destroyed the navy, by continually suffering Bertrand to give so many passports as not to leave sufficient officers for port-duty; and, when the Legislative Body represented to you, on the 8th of March, his culpable conduct, you did not dismiss him.

Louis. I endeavoured to retain the officers by every measure in my power; and, as the Assembly produced no specific charge against Bertrand that appeared to me of a criminal nature, I did not deem it just to dismiss him.

President. The Legislative Body passed a decree against refractory priests, by you suspended the execution of it by your veto.

Louis. The Constitution invested me with free and full powers to reject or sanction decrees.

President. You continued the pay of your guards after they had been disbanded for their incivism, — and wrote moreover a letter of thanks to them.

Louis. I continued their pay only until they should form a new establishment, according as the decree required. Their former services merited a letter of thanks.

President. You retained your Swiss guards about your person, in express contradiction to the Constitution.

Louis. I fulfilled every decree on that subject.

President. You endeavoured, by considerable sums, to bribe several members of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, who presented you with plans for a counter-revolution.

Louis. Many persons presented me with such plans, but I uniformly rejected them all.

President. On the 10th of August last, you reviewed, at five o'clock in the morning, the Swiss guards from your palace.

Louis. I that day reviewed all the troops that were assembled near me; — the mayor, the municipality, and all the constituent authorities, were with me; — I had even requested a deputation might be sent me from the National Assembly,

Assembly, that I might concert with them the necessary measures; and I afterwards repaired to the Assembly with my family.

President. Why did you assemble so large a body of troops at the palace?

Louis. All the constituent authorities knew that the palace was threatened; and, as I was one of the constituted authorities, I had a right to defend myself.

President. Why did you cause the blood of the French to be spilled?

Louis. Sir, it was not my act.

President. Why did you put a veto on the decree, ordering a camp of 20,000 men to be formed round Paris?

Louis. The Constitution gave me full power to sanction decrees or not; and, even at that time, I ordered a camp to be at Soissons.

On the 26th of December, agreeably to a decree of the preceding evening, the King was to have been brought to the Convention-Hall at ten o'clock in the morning. Before half-after nine, however, his majesty was in one of the committee-rooms. Though the drums had beaten to arms at half-after five, the pikemen did not get to the Temple time enough to line the Boulevard, and accompany the royal prisoner; he was escorted by a party of heavy horse. The coachman was ordered to drive fast, and in a very few minutes he reached the place in which sentence was to be pronounced.

The KING of FRANCE,

At the bar of his former subjects, was fortitude and dignity personified. He appeared with the same unclouded brow, with the same tokens of conscious rectitude as on the 11th, when he was first summoned before the self-created court of justice: his countenance, the faithful mirror of his soul, reflected his innocence, and seemed to shew the guilt of his *judges* and *accusers*. His majesty was dressed as on the former day. — The three gentlemen (his counsel) attended him, as did the mayor of Paris, another municipal officer, and Santerre, commander of the pikemen.

The president, Monf. Fermond, in a very graceful manner, said, "Louis, the National Convention decree
F 2 that

that you should be *definitively* heard this day in your defence, either by yourself, or by your counsel." The king, *without saying a word*, bent, and pointed to M. Desefe, the advocate who was to open the defence. — Louis XVI. then sat down.

Here M. Desefe, in a most masterly manner, said every thing that was possible in defence of fallen majesty.

THE KING then stood up, and, with his wonted dignity, spoke *verbatim* as follows: — "Citizens, you have heard the pleas I had to urge; I shall not repeat them. While I speak to you, *perhaps for the last time*, I declare my conscience upbraids me not, and that my counsel has told you nothing but the truth. I never thought my proceedings would have been thus publicly investigated; but my heart is harrowed up, when I find myself accused of a desire to shed my people's blood, and that the events of the 10th of August are imputed to me. I must confess that the multiplied proofs I had given at all times of my love for the people, and my general conduct, warranted me to think that I should never have been thus accused.

The king was remanded to the Temple, and the Assembly decreed, that, every other affair omitted, they would meet without interruption till the king's fate should be decided.

DEATH OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

We have stated sufficient for our readers to predict the fate of the unfortunate Louis. Suffice it, in the National Convention, on Thursday, the 17th, at eight o'clock, the president announced the result of the *appeal nominal* on the question.

What punishment shall LOUIS CAPET suffer?

Out of 721 votes, 366 were for death, 319 for imprisonment during the war; two for perpetual imprisonment; eight for the suspension of the execution of the sentence of death till after the expulsion of the family of the Bourbons; twenty-three were for not putting him to death, unless the French territory were invaded by any foreign power; and one was for death, but commutation of punishment. The president, in consequence, declared,
"That

"That the National Convention pronounced sentence of death against LOUIS CAPET."

The counsel of Louis appeared at the bar, and read a letter, by which Louis charges them to demand, in his name, an appeal to the people.

As two thirds of the votes were not unanimous against him, to this application the Convention paid no attention, but passed to the order of the day; it likewise adjourned till the next day all the questions respecting the sentence of Louis.

Previous to which, the president announced the receipt of a letter from the minister of the king of Spain, offering to become a mediator between France and the powers with whom she was at war, on condition of saving the life of the head of the house of Bourbon. The Convention, however, unanimously refused to hear it.

Thomas Paine did not vote, but he sent his opinion to the president, which was, that Louis Capet should be banished, but not till the end of the war; during which time he should be kept imprisoned.

On Saturday, the 19th, after long debates, it was determined to proceed to the appeal nominal, on a question which had been agitated, *whether there was to be a respite or not to the execution of LOUIS*: the members were permitted simply to say, yes or no.

This appeal nominal lasted till two o'clock in the morning. Of 748 members, only 690 voted; of this number 380 were against the respite and 310 for it. It was, therefore, rejected by a majority of 70.

Here a melancholy silence prevailed for some time in the Assembly.

After which, the following orders were given by the Convention.

The decree, which dooms Louis, the last king of the French, to death, shall be instantly sent to the executive council, who are charged with the notification of it in the course of the day to Louis, and with the execution of it within twenty-four hours after the notification.

The council will take, for the execution of the decree, all the measures of general safety that may appear necessary, and for this act of national justice being accompanied with

with all due solemnity. It is enjoined to the municipality of Paris, to suffer Louis to communicate with his family, and to have such ministers of religion as he may think proper in his last moments.

The officers of the executive council, entrusted with the execution of this decree, repaired on Sunday to the Temple.

At two o'clock they were conducted before Louis, to whom the minister of justice, as president of the executive council, spoke thus :

" Louis, the executive council hath charged us to notify to you the extracts of the verbal process of the National Convention of the 15th, 17th, and 19th, of the present month. The secretary will now read them.

On this, the secretary of the executive council read the three extracts ; containing his conviction, sentence, and order for execution.

Louis then observed, that he had something to say ; on which he took out the following requisition, written with and signed by his own hand.

" I request a delay of three days, in order to enable me to appear in the presence of Almighty God : and, the better to affect this, I request leave to call to my aid the ex-bishop of Fermond, who lodges at No. 483, Rue de Bacq.

" I request that his person be protected from all manner of insult, in order that he may be enabled to deliver himself up without fear to the work of charity he is to be employed in with respect to me.

" I request to be freed from the perpetual inspection which the council general of the commons has made use of towards me for some time past.

I request, that, during this interval, I may be permitted to see my family, without any witnesses, every time that I solicit this permission.

" I desire that the National Convention may deliberate immediately upon the lot of my family, and that they be permitted to retire wherever they please.

" I recommend all the persons who were attached to me to the care and protection of the nation. There are many of them who have expended the whole of their fortunes

tunes in order to purchase their places, and who must consequently be in great distress.

" Among my pensioners are a great number of old men, and of poor people, burthened with great families, who have not any thing to subsist on but the allowance which I paid them.

" Given in the tower of the Temple, January 20, 1793.

(Signed,) " LOUIS."

Louis also gave to the commissary of the commons, as they were withdrawing, a paper, on which was written the names of his confessors; they are *Ed. Jobert*, and *de Fermont, rue de Bacq.*

The Convention, having heard the report of the minister, decreed, " That the suspension of execution asked by Louis shall not be granted."

" That the inspection of the municipality shall not take place, but in the adjoining chamber to that of Louis; and that Louis shall converse freely with his family."

As to the other objects, the Convention passed to the order of the day, the committee of legislation having already taken cognizance of them.

The dying requests of Louis thus dispatched by the Convention, preparations for the approaching awful event commenced. The first was a proclamation, issued at four o'clock in the afternoon, by the provisional executive council, as follows:

" Orders respecting the Execution of Louis.

" 1st. The execution of Louis Capet shall take place to-morrow, Monday, the 21st instant.

" 2d. The place of execution shall be at the Place de la Révolution, formerly of Louis XV. between the pedestal and les Champs Elisées.

" 3d. Louis Capet shall leave the Temple at eight in the morning, in order that his execution may be finished by noon.

" 4th. The commissaries of the department of Paris, and the commissaries of the municipality, and two members of the criminal tribunal, shall assist at the execution; the secretary-register of this tribunal shall write the verbal

bal process of the transactions; and the aforesaid commissaries and members of the tribunal, as soon as the execution is finished, shall give an account thereof to the council, who will remain sitting in a permanent meeting the whole of the day. Louis Capet shall proceed by the Boulevards to the Place de la Révolution.

"Agreed, that all the sections be invited to remain in permanent councils, to keep all citizens under arms, and not permit any persons whatever, not even the women, to circulate in the streets, except such as are public functionaries, employed in the administration, and belonging to the armed force."

Orders were likewise issued, early yesterday evening, by the commandant-general Santerre, to the respective military legions, to furnish a large quota of troops and cannon, to be ready by seven o'clock in the morning, to guard the several districts of the city and its environs, in order to secure the public safety and tranquillity.

All necessary preparations being fully arranged, as also his request of conversing with his family granted, and his confessor having been with him near an hour, Louis exclaimed sufficiently loud to be heard by the adjacent attendants, "*Now, sir, for my greatest trial, I will embrace the liberty granted me of conversing freely with the dearest object of my heart. I will see my family, and, oh! bid them eternally adieu!*" Not eternally, replied De Fermont. "Right, Sir, (cried Louis,) I trust in God, I shall meet them all, and perhaps not long first in Heaven."

Just at this interval, hearing the clock strike six, he exclaimed, "Let time withhold not from me a moment longer the final interview with my family!" — Be courageous, Sir, said De Fermont. — I will, my friend, (returned Louis,) as well as expiring nature will enable me."

The queen, having been previously informed of the speedily approaching execution of her husband, and of his present request, entered his room with a distraction in her looks and agitation in her manner as surpasses all the power of description. — It must suffice, therefore, to say, that, after she had darted along the room to clasp Louis in her arms, she, in the intervals of heart-breaking sobs, would alternately vociferate curses against his murderers, lamentations

mentations on his, her own, and her children's, fate, and all the effusions of agony, which the very madness of grief and affliction could impel her to utter.

Louis was already unmanned, — but at this moment he beheld his son and daughter approach him, handed in by their aunt the Princess Elizabeth. — “Gracious heaven,” he cried, “support me, or this scene will be too much!” — The Princess Royal, though labouring under heavy indisposition, disputed the clasp of her father's neck with her mother. — Tenderness never before viewed such a struggle. The Dauphin, though young in years, seemed old in sensibility, — he knelt at his father's knees, — made an absolute monopoly of one of his royal parent's hands, kissed, clasped, and bathed, it with his tears. — Nor was the sister of Louis unimpressed at this most afflicting of moments with the sharpest pangs of sorrow and sensibility.

The scene was too weighty to be supported. — De Fermont preached resignation to the divine will. — Louis attempted to rouse himself, — it was in vain, — accumulated tenderness overpowered him, the big drop rolled down his cheek; he seemed nearly senseless! — *Adieu! Adieu!* he feebly cried. The sound, weakly and reluctantly as it was uttered, came with gigantic strength to the queen's ear. She was instantly in strong hysterics. — The Princess Royal had before sunk from extremity of woe and debility of frame in a swoon on her father's neck, yet without quitting her grasp.

The dreadful separation over, Louis continued with his confessor till about eleven at night, when, after taking a little warm wine and biscuit, he retired to bed, desiring his confessor to be with him by six in the morning, to assist in preparing him farther for the awful change he was speedily to undergo.

He arose at five, washed, and had his hair decently dressed, and wore the same clothes he appeared in when lately brought before the Convention, viz. fawn-colour great coat, white waistcoat, and black breeches. De Fermont was punctual in his attendance, and continued uninterruptedly in prayer with his late sovereign till the arrival of the General Santerre, and commissioners of the municipality, to inform him that the hour (eight) was arrived for attending him to the scaffold. “I am ready,” said Louis, with

a firm voice—he descended from the tower of the Temple—walked steadily across the inner court, and entered, in the outer court, the mayor's coach, accompanied by his confessor and two municipal officers.

A very strong body of cavalry immediately preceded the carriage, with another equal in force that closed it behind. The streets of the metropolis were double-lined with troops, and planted with numerous cannon, to secure the public tranquillity.

The whole procession was conducted with an awful and calm solemnity; orders having been previously given to prevent citizens crowding the streets, or even appearing at their windows; nothing, in short, but the appearance of military array was to be observed on the great and mournful occasion.

He reached the scaffold a few minutes after ten, quitted the coach with alertness, took leave of his confessor, and ascended the steps of the scaffold with firmness, amidst the clang of trumpets and noise of drums. He expressed a wish to Santerre to be permitted to speak a few words; a signal was given for the drums and trumpets to cease. — He began to speak of his "*innocence*;" — the word had no sooner escaped his lips, than the signal was given for the re-exertions of the drums and trumpets. — Amidst their drowning din, he was nevertheless heard by several of the spectators to vociferate, "*I die innocent, I forgive all my enemies!*" — Immediately on this, the executioner and his assistants seized him, disrobed him of his coat, waistcoat, and neckcloth, and led him to the fatal guillotine, which in an instant severed his head from his body.

Shocking to add, the moment the royal blood began to flow, a savage multitude rushed to the scaffold, dipped their handkerchiefs, &c. in the crimson stream, bought the locks of his hair from the executioners with assignats, and displayed them afterwards throughout the city on sticks and poles, as triumphant banners over *fallen royalty*, tossing their hats in the air, and crying out, *Vive la Nation! Vive la République!*

His body was afterwards put in a shell, with quick lime thrown over it, and buried with the Swiss guards, who were killed on the 10th of August, in a grave twelve feet deep,

in

in the church of the *Magdalen*; he not being suffered to be buried at *St. Denis* with his ancestors.

THE LAST WILL and TESTAMENT of LOUIS XVI.

“ In the name of the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost : this day, the 21st of December, 1792, I, LOUIS, the sixteenth of that name, king of France, having been for more than four months shut up, with my family, in the Tower of the Temple, at Paris, by those who were my subjects, and deprived of every kind of communication with my family since the 11th of this month; and being moreover involved in a trial, of which, from the passions of mankind, it is impossible to foresee the event, and for which neither pretext nor precedent can be found in any existing law; having no witness of my thoughts but God, and no one but him to whom I can address myself, I here declare, in his presence, my last Will and Sentiments. I leave my soul to God, my Creator : I implore him to receive it in his mercy, and not to judge it according to its merits, but according to those of our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered himself as a sacrifice to God, his Father, for us men, unworthy as we were, and especially myself. — I implore God to pardon me all my sins. I have endeavoured scrupulously to know them, to detest them, and to humble myself in his presence. — Not having it in my power to avail myself of the ministry of a Catholic priest, I implore God to receive the confession which I have made to him; and, above all, my profound repentance for having put my name, although it was contrary to my will, to those acts which may be contrary to the discipline and the belief of the Catholic church, to which I have always remained sincerely united in my heart. — I beseech all those whom by inadvertence I may have offended, (for I do not recollect ever knowingly to have committed an offence against any one,) or those to whom I may have given a bad example, or occasion for scandal, to pardon me the evil which they think I may have done them. — I pardon, with my whole heart, those who have made themselves my enemies, without my having given them any cause. And I pray to God that he will pardon them, as well as those, who, by a false zeal, or by a zeal

ill understood, have done me much evil. — I recommend to God my wife, my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all those who are attached to me by the ties of blood, or in any other manner whatsoever. — I especially implore God to cast the eyes mercy upon my wife, my children, and my sister, who have for so long a time suffered with me, to support them by his grace, should they happen to lose me, so long as they shall remain in this perishable world. — I recommend my children to my wife: I have never doubted of her maternal tenderness for them. I recommend to her to make them good Christians and honest; to induce them to consider the grandeurs of this world (should they be condemned to make trial of them) as no other than dangerous and perishable possessions, and to turn their view to the only solid and durable glory of eternity. — I beseech my sister to be pleased to continue her tenderness to my children, and to supply to them the place of a mother, should they have the misfortune to lose their own. — I beseech my wife to forgive me all those evils which she suffers for me, and the uneasiness which I may have given her in the course of our union; as she may be assured, that I retain nothing in my mind respecting her, should she imagine that she has any reason to reproach herself with respect to me. — I earnestly recommend to my children, after what they owe to God, which they ought to consider as prior to every thing else, to remain always united among themselves, submissive and obedient to their mother, and grateful to her for all the pains she takes for them, and in memory of me. — I beseech them to consider my sister as a second mother. I recommend to my son, should he have the misfortune to become a king, to reflect that he owes himself entirely to the happiness of his fellow-citizens; and that he ought to forget all hatred and resentment; and especially all which has a reference to the misfortune and miseries which I experience; that he cannot effect the happiness of his people but by reigning according to the laws; but that, at the same time, a king cannot make these respected, or do the good which is in his heart, unless he possess the necessary authority; and that, otherwise being confined in his operations, and commanding no respect, he is more hurtful than useful.

useful. — I recommend to my son to take care of all those persons who have been attached to me, as far as the circumstances in which he may find himself shall give him an opportunity: to reflect that this is a sacred debt which I have contracted, towards the children or relations of those who have perished for my sake, and towards those who have become miserable on my account. — I know there are several persons in the number of those who were attached to me, who have not behaved towards me as they ought to have done, and who have even shewn ingratitude towards me; but I forgive them; (for, in the moments of trouble and effervescence, one is not always master of one's self;) and I beseech my son, should he find an opportunity, to reflect on their misfortunes. I wish I could here testify my thankfulness to those who have manifested towards me a true and disinterested attachment. — On the one hand, if I have been sensibly affected by the ingratitude and disloyalty of those, to whom I have never acted but with kindness, as well to themselves as to their relations and friends: on the other, I have had the consolation to see the voluntary attachment and interest which many persons have shewn me. I beseech them to receive all my thanks for this. In the situation in which things yet are, I fear to commit them, were I to speak more explicitly; but I especially recommend to my son, to seek opportunities of being able to acknowledge them. — I should, however, conceive that I calumniated the sentiments of the nation, were I not openly to recommend to my son MM. de CHAMILLY and HU, whose sincere attachment to me has induced them to shut themselves up with me in this sorrowful abode, and who have been in danger of becoming the unhappy victims of that attachment. I also recommend to him CLERY, with whose attention I have every reason to be satisfied since he has been with me, as he is the person who has remained with me to the end. I beseech MM. de la Commune to deliver to him my effects, my books, my watch, and the other little articles of my property, which have been deposited with the Council of the Commons. — I moreover fully pardon those who have guarded me, — the ill-treatment and harshness which they have thought it their duty to use towards me. I have found some feel-
 ing

ing and compassionate souls; may these enjoy in their hearts that tranquillity to which their mode of thinking should entitle them. — I beseech MM. de MALESHERBES, TRONCHET, and DESEZE, to receive here my utmost thanks, and the expression of my sensibility, for all the pains and trouble they have been at on my account. — I conclude, by declaring, before God, and being ready to appear before him, that I do not reproach myself with any of those crimes which have been charged against me.

Duplicates of this instrument made at the Tower of the Temple, the 21st of December, 1792.

(Signed,)

“ LOUIS.”

(Inscribed,)

BAUDRAIS, Municipal-Officer.

A particular Account of the extraordinary ASSASSINATION of M. MARAT, by the Hand of a Woman, that took Place on Sunday, the 14th of July, 1793; the Particulars whereof are as follow:

ON the Thursday preceeding his death, a woman of a respectable appearance, named *Marie Anne Charlotte Cordé*, arrived at Paris from Caen, in Normandy, distant near 150 miles. On the two following days she was busied, it should seem, in making inquiries respecting the various crimes imputed to her destined victim; and, having satisfied herself as to the truth, on Sunday she obtained an interview with Marat, who had, at the time, his feet in a warm bath, for a leprous disorder, with which he was afflicted.

She continued in conversation with him for some time, asking his opinion of several persons whom she named; and, on his averring them to be counter revolutionists, she instantly stabbed him in the head, declaring that she was then convinced that every thing she had heard of him was true. — He died on the spot.

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On her being seized and interrogated, she justified her conduct by declaring her conviction that Marat had been the cause of all the evils with which France had lately been afflicted; she seemed to glory in her act, and declared that she had not been instigated by any person, and that no one was privy to it.

Thus perished a man, who has been the principal actor, if not the instigator, of more important events within the last twelve months, than perhaps any other person in a similar period of time.

The funeral of Marat was celebrated, on the 16th instant, with the greatest pomp and solemnity. All the sections joined in the procession, some with their colours, but all of them with their standards. An immense croud of people attended it. Four women bore the bathing-machine in which Marat was standing when he was assassinated; his shirt, stained with blood, was carried by another Amazon at the top of a pike. After this followed a wooden bedstead, on which the corpse of Marat was carried by citizens. His head was uncovered, and the gash, made by the knife of the assassin, could be easily distinguished. The procession paraded through several streets, and was saluted on its march by several discharges of artillery. At half-past ten o'clock at night, the remains of Marat were deposited in a grave, dug in the yard of the club of the Cordeliers, between four linden-trees. At the base of his bed of state, the following words were inscribed:—
"Marat, the friend of the people, assassinated by the enemies of the people. Enemies of the country, moderate your joy, he will find avengers."

Marie Anne Charlotte la Cordé was tried on the 17th instant, for the murder of Marat, by the Revolutionary tribunal. At the beginning of her trial she thus addressed her judges:—"I did not expect to appear before you; I always thought that I should be delivered up to the rage of the people, torn in pieces, and that my head, stuck upon the top of a pike, would have preceded Marat on his state-bed, to serve as a rallying point to Frenchmen, if there are still any worthy of that name. But, happen what will, if I have the honours of the guillotine, and my clay-cold remains are buried, they will soon have
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conferred upon them the honour of the Pantheon, and my memory will be more honoured in France than that of Judith in Bethulia." Sentence of death was then pronounced upon this resolute woman, and she was executed in the evening.

On her trial she exhibited the greatest firmness. She denied having had any accomplice. "No one," said she, "instigated me to this good action; and, if all that preceded and all that followed the death of Marat be carefully examined, it will be clear, that a soul, truly republican like mine, could be actuated only by the genuine impulse of delivering my country from its most dangerous enemy.

Faucher, (an abbé and member of the Convention, supposed to be one who instigated her to the deed,) was examined, and the embarrassed air of the priest formed a striking contrast to the serenity of the prisoner. She denied that Faucher had ever introduced her into the gallery of the Convention. "I respect him too little," said she, "to ask a favour of him. I knew him at Caen, as one knows a man that one meets in the streets."

She delivered two letters to the judges, which she requested might be forwarded as directed. One of them was addressed to Barbaroux, a commissioner of the Convention; the other to her father. In the letter to Barbaroux, she gave an account of her journey to Paris, and the assassination of Marat; in the letter to her father, she requested him not to mourn or shed a tear for her death, which was an honour to him and all her family. It concluded with this verse:

Guilt makes shame, but not the Scaffold.

On the scaffold she displayed the same firmness as on her trial, and refused the administration of a confessor.

THE END



